1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SR5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:178) reported that the *Alaculuf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–179; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Feye*, p. 150); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1833, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–186). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 256) contrasted with Araucanian etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toilet cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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252 In the hunt not less than pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork. 576 During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this 133 proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The en- [136] campment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tgnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It 291 did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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CHAPTER IV.

HENNOKAIK TO TECKEL.

Ceremonial of Welcome—Hinchel's Indians—Tehuelches and Araucanos—Jackechan and the Chupat Tribe—My Examination—Encampment at Henno—Peaceful Occupations—The Oldest Inhabitant—Chiriq—The Hidden Cities—Modern Legends—Mysteries of the Cordillera—Los Cesares—La Ciudad Encantada—Its Whereabouts—The Indian Cesares—The Guanaco—The Patagonian Ostrich—Neighbourhood of Chiriq—Horseracing—Indian Horses—Indian Dogs—Dog and Lover—Plaiting Sinews—Windy Hill—Surrounded by Fire—Young Guanaco—Arrival of Grog—News from Santa Cruz—Gisk—Romantic Scenery—A Pleasant Neighbourhood—Fairy Glen—Breaking a Horse—Female Curiosity—The Wild Cattle Country—The Forests of the Cordillera—The Watershed—Among the Mountains—Wild Flowers—A Bull Fight—The Bull Victorious—No Christmas Beef—Teckel—Change of Quarters.

AS we were whiling away the next forenoon in fishing and disporting ourselves generally in the water, smoke was described at various points to the westward, and about two P.M., the head of the heavy column of women, children, and innumerable horses came into view on the northern side of the valley. All instantly repaired to the toldos, accoutred ourselves, and got up the horses in preparation for the arrival of the visitors; the meeting of any number of Indians after a separation being recognised as an affair of considerable importance. Shortly after our horses were caught and saddled, and, indeed, before some of our party were ready, the men who had been hunting *en route* appeared, and the ceremonial of welcome was duly observed.

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[p. 113]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Koue' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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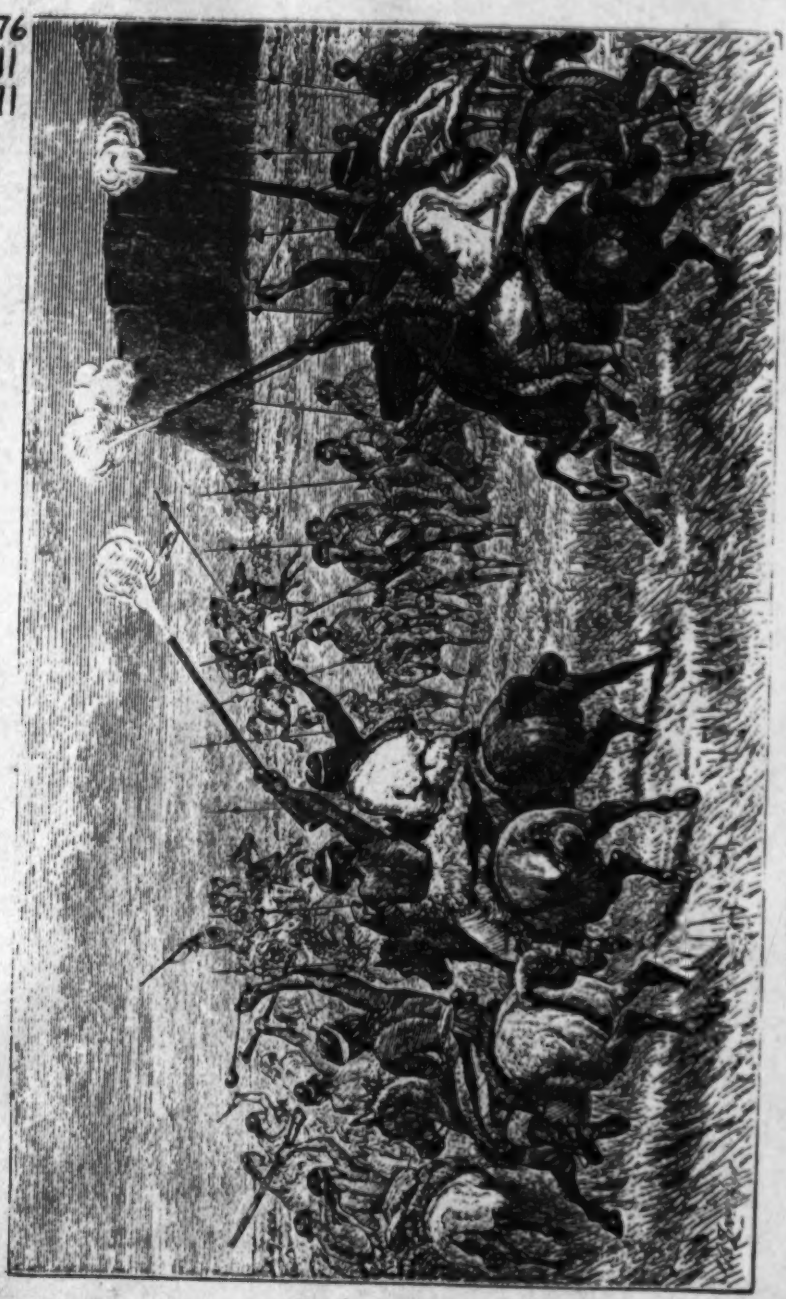

CEREMONY OF WELCOME (TEHUELCHES AND ARAUCANIANS).

[facing p. 115]

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkeke would not hear of it, so on the 28th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkeke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 29th we were preparing to march, and while the women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Califata,' or barberry (Berberis buccifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a chasqui, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkeke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quietly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the man before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
[576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
[606] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
202 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coêto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended. The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintuhual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackechan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

484 search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with
484 cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and
133 passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first
[137] time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods,
[262] which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

576 Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

200 or 300 yards, all halted; and Nacho rode forward, and 576
ceremonious explanations ensued, followed by formal introductions. He was a Pampa Indian outward bound to join those mentioned as having passed us eastward of Margensho; he gave us news that Jackechan's, Teneforo's, and other Indians were in a place called Trinita, some four hours' gallop only distant. When he found that I was 'Anglish,' he spoke in high praise of my countrymen whom he had met in Rio Negro.

This man was a perfect picture; he was splendidly mounted, and had a troop of horses all as good as the one he bestrode. He was well dressed in ponchos and white drawers, and wore a silk handkerchief round his head. Over his saddle was a poncho containing, as we supposed, a store of yerba, flour, or other luxuries, and he had a bold, careless, good-humoured face, with restless eyes; altogether he gave one an idea of the imaginary generous bandits one reads of in novels, and to make the character complete it turned out afterwards that he had almost certainly stolen the horses from Trinita.

After five minutes' conversation, we started in opposite 484
directions, and our party pressed on at speed. From the steep hill above the valley we saw, to our joy, the smoke of hunting parties apparently not far off. However, it was four o'clock when we arrived in the vicinity of the fires in a green pastured valley. From one of the two toldos pitched there, a man emerged with a matè pot in his hand and a bombilla or reed used for imbibing matè, like straws for sherry cobblers, in his mouth. As these people proved not to be the Indians we wanted, after saluting him we galloped on, and crossing the valley, where we had to jump our horses over a brook, ascended the opposite hill. A new growth of [137]
bush growing sixteen feet high, with long switches like osiers, forced itself unpleasantly on our attention, as, when riding fast, they sprang back into one's face in the most painfully annoying manner. On the hillside we overtook and passed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

484 a caravan of women travelling in the same direction as ourselves, and from the summit of the range saw in the valley below two different groups of thirty or forty toldos each, about half a mile apart. Galloping on we arrived, about 484 five P.M., at the nearest tolderia; but on inquiring for 576 Patricio, to whom we had been directed to go by Casimiro, found that he belonged to the others, to which we proceeded, and were duly received, our horses, &c., taken care of, and ourselves ushered with all ceremony into the presence of Patricio (a half-bred Pampa and Tehuelche). After the hour's etiquette of answering questions, we were each given one rib of a guanaco to eat. I was so hungry that I could have eaten a dozen at least, so, on the plea of washing, started off to look for Jackechan's toldo, which I shortly found, and was received with open arms by my friend and El Sourdo. After his 'missus' had given me some food, followed by the luxury of a matè with sugar, Jackechan related his proceedings subsequent to leaving our party.

203 After a few days' march in the direction of the Chupat, he came across some cattle, which were caught and killed, and then, whilst in the same spot, he despatched the messenger to Chupat with the letter, who returned in fifteen days with an answer, but without any stores.

The letter, carefully wrapped in a piece of old linen which had served as the envelope to my own epistle, was ceremoniously handed to me by the light of a blaze produced by some grease thrown upon the fire. I read and interpreted the contents to Jackechan. The writer—Mr. Hughes, if I recollect rightly—expressed his pleasure at hearing of my safety, but regretted his inability to forward any stores or clothing, as the supply in the colony was extremely scanty, owing to the non-arrival of the ship with Mr. Lewis Jones on board, which had been expected for some months. It need scarcely be said that I had been quite unaware of the privations endured by these unfortunate colonists, which the despatches of Commander Dennistoun have made known to

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

it? I should have had no appetite for the dinner of an alderman at such a time and place; but as for tasting meat that came in such a questionable shape, there was no bringing my teeth or resolution to it. While eying it with ill-suppressed disgust, I observed the savages, like a horde of half-starved dogs, devouring their portions with the greatest relish; seizing the fragments with their fine white teeth, at the same time clenching them with their hands, and giving every sign of enjoyment *except* what one is accustomed to see in human beings. The old chief remarked the slight I was putting upon his hospitality, and broke in upon me with a fierce *Por que usted, no munge usted, usted carna? Esta carna mucho bueno hombre por munge, se hombre, munge!* "Why don't you eat your meat? This meat very good to eat, — very good to eat. Eat, man! eat!" I may here observe that my knowledge of Spanish, like the chief's, was colloquial; picked up here and there in voyages to South American ports, which may account for my orthography being so plainly determined by the ear rather than by any rules of Castilian grammar. Seeing him so much excited, and not knowing what deeds might follow his words if I refused, I thought it expedient to *try* to "eat what was set before me, asking no questions;" thinking, moreover, that if there were any evil spirit in it that the fire had failed to expel, it could not possibly have resisted the smoke. So, being sorely divided between aversion to the "strange flesh" and fear of showing it, I forced a morsel into my mouth. Its taste was by no means as offensive as its appearance had been unpromising, and I managed to save appearances with less disgust than I had feared. This was my first